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sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian 534
needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177 797]
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

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636 slavery. Now, after four hundred years, it seems that the present Republican government might achieve by means of their Indian education program the humane purpose formulated under the colonial system.

797 After 1520, when the Conquest was established, the Spaniards began the process of converting a matured Indian culture into a European one. The conquerors were granted lands and in return were supposed to exploit the new territory for the economic advantage of Spain. The Church had in its custody the education of the Indians and their spiritual and corporal welfare. The different monastic orders undertook the control of the Indians in specified localities. Their first steps were to eradicate the local idolatry and to learn the language and customs of their new charges, the better to accomplish conversion.[2]

The friars, especially selected for the task, showed great understanding. They immediately replaced one theological structure with another. The Indians tore down their temples to build churches and monasteries in their place. The use of statues and paintings in Catholic ritual answered so well the requirements of Aztec worship that the friars had great trouble in preventing adoration of the images themselves. (See Plate 26, middle.)

797 The studies that the friars made of the Indian customs
636 were admirable, with the Franciscans and Dominicans showing exceptional abilities.[3] The children of Indian tribal leaders were educated in schools to spread the gospel. Under this Spanish control there was no recognition of the old communal land tenure, so the Aztecs were frozen into possession of the lands that they occupied by tribal sanction. The chiefs who had held the usage of the official lands found

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themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

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797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[5]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

175 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise.
787 For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polioh oc ieh nauhxiujtl açiquijui in españoles

175 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards
648 came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçiqui injc quijcauhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancuic españa de mjll e quinjentos y deziocueue.

175 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
731 Cuidiuac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days
648 after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

1 Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Cuitlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhuitl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in ixoujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej tonomonalizdi: in aic ceppa onottac inin aic onococoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, quitlacalhui in jxuiac: injc quijquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ꝯ muchi atlan quimontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca ꝛc..ijian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijaxque mjmjcque.

175 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.
648 Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and[4] he ruled Te-
797 nochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles quijcauhque, caçiqui in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic quijxoalotoc inquich altepetl. Icoac tlixocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct friciſco, in quitocaoaltico tlatetoquilixtli: ioan quitemachtique tlanehtoquilixtli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[5] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in iehoatl nonuan de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ca nonotic atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *on hor ga.*
6. *Iaquac ipe iaquac in ilhuit.*

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

● [797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quimacaque in jxquich in jnnetlapaloaia, inin tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjqujto in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipaccanamjquito: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxquichtin españoles.

Auh in jquexquilhujioc, in ichoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoatl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinuicac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquix illhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhuiquintiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in ooalmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequintin, quinoalhuicac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototraia in iauiotl.

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquixque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocolitzli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequintin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiuitl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica quiniauchiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiuitl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiutl

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen xict francisco padreme, in quintlanehoquitique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen*; literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

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ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken. 648

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders. [643]

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to whitewash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there. 797

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 323 438 346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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they will find it to be very different the one from the other. I also wish to say that some good Franciscan monks, who were the first friars whom his Majesty sent to this New Spain after the Conquest of Mexico, as I shall relate further on, went to Cholula to inform themselves and find out how and in what way that punishment was carried out, and for what reason, and the enquiry that they made was from the same priests and elders of the city, and after fully informing themselves from these very men, they found it to be neither more nor less than what I have written down in this narrative, and not as the Bishop has related it. If perchance we had not inflicted that punishment, our lives would have been in great danger on account of the squadrons and companies of Mexican and Cholulan warriors who were there, and the barricades and breastworks, and if to our misfortune they had killed us there, this New Spain would not have been so speedily conquered, nor would another Armada have dared to have come, and if it did, it would have been under greater difficulty, for the Mexicans would have defended their ports, and they would still have continued in a state of Idolatry.

I have heard a Franciscan Friar called Fray Toribio Motolinea, who led a good life, say that it would have been better if that punishment could have been prevented, and they had not given cause for its being carried out; but, as it had been carried out, it was a good thing that all the Indians of the provinces of New Spain should see and understand that those Idols and all the rest of them were evil and lying, for it showed that all their promises turned out false, and they lost the adoration which the people had hitherto given them, and thenceforth they would not sacrifice to them, nor come on pilgrimages to them from other parts, as they used to do. From that time they did not care for it [the principal Idol] and removed it from the lofty cue where it had stood, and either hid it or broke it up, so

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797 that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

648 As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

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Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

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two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

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•797 enter or hold communication with Montezuma where he then was, unless it were on important business. Cortés and he paid the greatest reverence to each other and then they took one another by the hand and Montezuma made him sit down on his couch[1] on his right hand, and he also bade all of us to be seated on seats which he ordered to be brought.

Then Cortés began to make an explanation through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and said that he and all of us were rested, and that in coming to see and converse with such a great Prince as he was, we had completed the journey and fulfilled the command which our great King and Prince had laid on us. But what he chiefly came to say on behalf of our Lord God had already been brought to his [Montezuma's] knowledge through his ambassadors, Tendile, Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor, at the time when he did us the favour to send the golden sun and moon to the sand dunes; for we told them then that we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, named Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion to save us, and we told them that a cross (when they asked us why we worshipped it) was a sign of the other Cross on which our Lord God was crucified for our salvation, and that the death and passion which He suffered was for the salvation of the whole human race, which was lost, and that this our God rose on the third day and is now in heaven, and it is He who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the sands, and created all the things there are in the world, and He sends the rain and the dew, and nothing happens in the world without His holy will. That we believe in Him and worship Him, but that those whom they look upon as gods are not so, but are devils, which are evil things, and if their looks are bad their deeds are worse, and they could

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[1] Estrado.

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see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this. [797]

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same [773]

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1797 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for
773 certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadalupe.

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it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all.

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did.

CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters.

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

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•797 already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

652 When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

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time on Gonzalo Mejía and Cortés were not very good friends. I have called all this to mind although it is outside my story, so that one may see that Cortés, under colour of doing justice, so that we should fear him, was full of craftiness, and I will leave off here.

CHAPTER CVII.

How the Great Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and what Cortés answered. Nevertheless he took her and they served and honoured her as was becoming to the daughter of such a Prince.

I HAVE many times said that Cortés and all of us always endeavoured to please and serve Montezuma and to pay him court. One day Montezuma said, "Look here, Malinche, I love you so much that I want to give you one of my daughters, who is very beautiful, so that you can marry her and treat her as your legitimate wife"; Cortés doffed his cap in thanks, and said that it was a great favour that Montezuma was conferring on him, but that he was already married and had a wife, and that among us we were not permitted to have more than one wife, he would however keep her [Montezuma's daughter] in the rank to which the daughter of so great a prince was entitled, but that first of all he desired her to become a Christian, as other ladies, the daughters of Chieftains, already were; and to this Montezuma consented.

The Great Montezuma always showed his accustomed good will to us, but from one day to the other he never ceased his sacrifices at which human beings were killed, and Cortés tried to dissuade him from this but met with no success. So Cortés took counsel with his captains as to what should be done in the matter, for he did not dare to put an end to it for fear of a rising in the City and of the

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priests who were in charge of Huichilobos. The advice that the captains and soldiers gave about this was, that he should pretend that he wished to go and throw down the Idols from the lofty temples of Huichilobos, and that if we saw that they intended to defend them, and were going to rise in revolt, that we should then demand permission to set up an altar inside the Great Cue, and place a Crucifix there and an image of Our Lady. When this was settled Cortés went to the Palace where Montezuma was imprisoned and took seven captains and soldiers with him, and said to Montezuma: "Señor, I have often asked you not to sacrifice any more human beings to your gods who are deceiving you, and you will not cease doing it, I wish you to know that all my companions and these captains who are with me have come to beg you to give them leave to remove the gods from your temple and put our Lady Santa Maria and a Cross in their place, and, if you will not give them leave now, they will go and remove them, and I would not like them to kill any priests."

When Montezuma heard those words and saw that the Captains were rather angry, he said, "Oh! Malinche, how can you wish to destroy the city entirely! for our gods are very angry with us, and I do not know that they will stop even at your lives, what I pray you to do for the present is to be patient, and I will send to summon all the priests and I will see their reply." When Cortés heard this he made a sign that he wished to speak quite privately to Montezuma without the presence of the captains whom he had brought in his company, so he ordered them to go out and leave him alone. When they had left the hall he said to Montezuma, that in order to prevent this affair from becoming known and causing a disturbance and becoming an offence to the priests on account of their Idols being overturned, that he would arrange with these Captains to the effect that they should do nothing of the sort, provided

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•797 they were given an apartment in the Great Cue where they might make an altar on which to place the Image of Our Lady and set up a Cross, and that as time went on it would be made plain how good and advantageous it was for their souls, and for giving them health and good harvests and prosperity. Then Montezuma, with sighs and a very sorrowful countenance, said that he would confer with his priests. After much discussion had taken place about it, on the [1] day of the month of [1] in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, this was done and our altars and an image of Our Lady and a Cross were set up, apart from their curséd Idols, with great reverence and with thanks to God from all of us, and the Padre de la Merced chanted Mass, assisted by the priest Juan Díaz and many of our soldiers. Our captain ordered an old soldier to be stationed there as guardian, and begged Montezuma to order the priests not to touch the altar, but only to keep it swept and to burn incense and keep wax candles burning there by day and night, and to decorate it with branches and flowers.

I will leave off here and say what it led to.

CHAPTER CVIII.

How the great Montezuma told our Captain Cortés to leave Mexico with all his soldiers, for all the Caciques and priests wanted to rise and wage war on us until they killed us, for so it had been decreed and advised by their Idols, and what Cortés did about it.

000 THERE was never a time when we were not subject to surprises of such a kind, that had our Lord God not assisted us, they would have cost us our lives. Thus as

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[1] Blank spaces in the original.

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litigation or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142]

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks

[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,—and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,—then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1560 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII,) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aquesto negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero èntre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 233)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1534 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 333). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1592 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 532). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 185–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

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● 797 fully realized what was asked of them, but they went still further by becoming, not only the spiritual advisers, but actually the material protectors, of the aborigines. Basing upon the authority conferred by the Pontiff at Rome, they publicly denounced, not only the individual acts of the Spaniards, but even those of the royal officers.[144] This could not fail to incite the Indians to resistance, and when the conquerors resorted to violence, not only did the oppressed find refuge and protection in the newly erected convents, but one of the most distinguished Franciscans, Fray Toribio, of Benavent (Motolinia), even notified the agents of the royal "audiencia,"—who had come to Huexotzinco to seize the fugitives and bring them to justice,—to leave the settlement forthwith, threatening, in case of non-compliance, with excommunication.[145]

The protection thus afforded would have been far more efficacious, had the good Friars understood at that time the true nature of Indian land tenure, and their usages with respect to the distribution of the soil. They might then have accompanied their violent protests with a rational remedy. Restoration of the ancient customs, limiting the Indian clusters to their territories actually tilled, without disturbing their original organization, would have been the proper way. Alongside of such communities, ample room would have remained for the settlements of whites, and the unavoidable contact between both races would have changed slowly and more permanently the condition of the natives, lifting them up gradually to the practical appreciation of ideas of civilization. But

of their own accord, and without Papal sanction. But, while Fray Pedro de Gante, for instance, rendered valuable service to science through one of his letters, it is among the "twelve apostles of Mexico" that we find those who have equally combined heroism in protecting the Indians, with due regard to the conservation of their memories and historical traditions. These "twelve" were: Fray Martin de Valencia, Fray Francisco de Soto, Fray Martin de Coruña, Fr. Juan Xuarez, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Fr. Toribio of Benavente, Fr. García de Cisneros, Fr. Luis de Fuensalida, Fr. Juan de Ribas, Fr. Francisco Ximenez. Fr. Andrés de Cordoba, Fray Juan de Palos (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. X. also cap. XI, etc.). We shall have further occasion to use their writings, therefore this humble tribute of gratitude to their memories.

[144] Compare the beautiful introduction to Motolinia's "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," by Sr. José F. Ramirez, in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. I, Introd. p. XLVII to p. I), which quotes an act of Gonzalo de Salazar, 28 July, 1525 (contained in the first "Libro de Cabildo" of Mexico), containing a complaint, against the Franciscan friars for "meddling with matters of civil jurisdiction and government." See also the report of Herrera about the convention ("Junta") at Barcelona, in Spain in 1529 (Dec. IV, lib. VI, cap. XI, p. 118, etc).

[145] Introduction to Motolinia ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. L). Torquemada (Lib. XV, cap. XXII, pp. 56, 57-59).

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even in their letter to the emperor, dated 1st of September, 1526,[146] the "apostles of Mexico" insisted upon a thorough establishment of what Mr. Prescott so justly calls the "vicious" system of Repartimientos, representing that an immediate and thorough intermingling of both races alone could promote the interests of conversion.[147]

Still, an improvement in the system gradually took place. The civil and criminal jurisdiction over the natives, which formerly had been vested in each landholder,[148] was placed in the hands of special officers of the crown. It was directed that the owner should reside on his property, that the Indians could not be separated from the soil and finally, on the 20th of November, 1542, the "new laws and ordonnances for the government of the Indies" were promulgated, which contained such restrictions upon the "Repartimientos," that their further extension and increase was rendered impossible, and the number of those existing, greatly limited. The Indians themselves were declared direct vassals to the crown of Spain.[149]

Although in many parts of Spanish America these laws were but "obeyed though not executed,"[150] they still called forth a

[146] "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. II, pp. 155, 156 and 157). Joint letter of Franciscan and Dominican monks (p. 549, etc.).

[147] "Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 155–157, 549, etc.; also letter of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (pp. 190–197). Notwithstanding the agreement between Franciscan and Dominican monks on that point, Las Casas continued to protest in the most vehement manner, against the "Repartimiento." See his memorial, jointly with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Col. II, pp. 231–236), and to the council of the Indies, of 1562 or 1563 (Col. II, pp. 505–508), in which he says: "Thirdly, that the encomiendas or repartimientos of Indians are iniquitous, per se wrong, therefore tyrannical, and such administration is tyrannical also. Fourth, that such as give them commit a mortal sin, like those who maintain them, and if they do not give them up, they cannot be saved."

[148] It was customary for each "encomendero" to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within his "Repartimiento."

[149] "Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Gobernacion de las Indias" (Col. de Doc., II, pp. 204–227), dated Valladolid (Spain), 4 June, 1543, promulgated at Mexico, 24 March, 1544. Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VI, cap. V, pp. 110–113). These new laws were the cause of bloody disturbances in Spanish America. Gomara (Vedia I, pp. 249 and 250).

[150] "Se obedece, pero no se cumple." There are many evidences of this saying having been put in actual practice. Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y de la Colonizacion de Nueva Granada," 1848, cap. XVII, p. 316). At the arrival of the Licentiate Armendariz in Cauca, sent to enforce the new laws, Belalcazar at once had them promulgated, but took the responsibility of forthwith also suspending their execution. He wrote to the King from Cali, in 1544, in regard to his action. Acosta says: "Entonces comenzó en el nuevo mundo Español á campear la formula irrisoria de se obedece, pero no se cumple; con que se eludian las ordenes que no les convenia ejecutar á los funcionarios de aquellas apartados comarcas." Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VII, cap. XXIII, pp. 157 and 158).